

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-08 IO-04 ISO-00 AEC-05 CIAE-00 H-01 INR-05

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USMISSION GENEVA

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

S E C R E T MBFR VIENNA 0336

GENEVA FOR CSCE DEL

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR: POLISH FRG BILATERAL OF OCT. 17, 1974

FOLLOWING IS REPORT OF OCT. 17 CONVERSATION BETWEEN POLISH
REP (STRULAK) AND UK REP (ROSE), AS DISTRIBUTED BY ROSE
AT OCT. 21 AHG MEETING.

BEGIN TEXT: 1. I HAD LUNCH WITH STRULAK ON 17 OCTOBER AT
HIS INVITATION. THE CONVERSATION TURNED TO THE FIRST STEP
PROPOSAL. I SAID THAT THOUGH THERE WERE CERTAIN SUPERFICIAL
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RESEMBLANCES TO OUR PROPOSAL FOR NEGOTIATION IN TWO PHASES,

IT WAS NOT IN GENERAL ATTRACTIVE TO US AND I WONDERED WHY IT HAD BEEN PUT FORWARD. IN CERTAIN RESPECTS IT WAS RETROGRESSIVE, FOR EXAMPLE IN ABANDONING THE IDEA MENTIONED IN THE PREVIOUS ROUND OF GLOBAL CEILINGS, AND IT MADE NO ATTEMPT TO TACKLE THE FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEM OF DISPARITIES. ALSO, UNLIKE THE WESTERN PROPOSALS, IT GAVE NO ASSURANCE OF SUBSTANTIVE REDUCTIONS IN THE SUBSEQUENT PHASE OF NEGOTIATIONS.

2. STRULAK SAID THAT THERE WAS INDEED PROVISION FOR LATER, SUBSTANTIVE REDUCTIONS, WHICH WOULD BE COVERED BY ONE OF THE PROVISIONS IN THE AGREEMENT. I SAID THAT, AS AT PRESENT PROPOSED, THIS PROVISION SEEMED OPEN TO ALL THE CRITICISMS WHICH THE EAST HAD LEVELLED AT OUR OWN FIRST PHASE PROPOSALS AND WHICH, BY THE VARIOUS COMMITMENTS WE HAD OFFERED ON THE "LINK" WE HAD TRIED TO MEET. STRULAK SAID THAT THIS WAS A MATTER FOR FURTHER DISCUSSION, BUT THE FIRST STEP WAS INTENDED AS EVIDENCE OF GOOD FAITH WHICH, IF TAKEN, WOULD BE BOUND TO BE FOLLOWED BY THE NEGOTIATION OF MORE SUBSTANTIVE REDUCTIONS.

3. ON THE QUESTION OF GLOBAL CEILINGS, STRULAK SAID THAT THE EAST CONSIDERED IT ESSENTIAL TO HAVE A DEFINITE ASSURANCE THAT EUROPEAN FORCES, PARTICULARLY THOSE OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC, WOULD BE REDUCED, BOTH IN A FIRST STEP AND SUBSEQUENTLY. THIS MEANT THAT, IN THE FIRST STEP AGREEMENT, THE ALLOCATION OF REDUCTIONS TO INDIVIDUAL NATIONAL FORCES WOULD HAVE TO BE SPECIFIED. I ASKED WHETHER, EVEN IF THE NUMBERS TO BE REDUCED WERE SPECIFIC, THIS WOULD NECESSARILY INVOLVE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF INDIVIDUAL NATIONAL CEILINGS. THE TERMS OF KHLESTOV'S STATEMENT WERE NOT INCOMPATIBLE WITH THE IDEA OF A GLOBAL CEILING, EVEN IF THE REDUCTIONS REQUIRED TO REACH IT WERE ALLOCATED TO INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES ON AN AGREED BASIS. STRULAK SAID THAT THE INTENTION WAS DEFINITELY TO ESTABLISH NATIONAL SUB CEILINGS, WHICH WOULD BE WRITTEN INTO THE FIRST STEP AGREEMENT, SINCE ONLY IN THIS WAY COULD THE EAST ENSURE THAT A LIMITATION WAS PLACED ON GERMAN FORCES, WHICH WAS AN IMPORTANT POLISH OBJECTIVE. I ASKED WHETHER THE FIGURE OF 5,000 FOR GERMAN AND POLISH REDUCTIONS, WHICH KHLESTOV HAD QUALIFIED BY THE WORDS "FOR INSTANCE", WAS A FIRM FIGURE PUT FORWARD WITH THE

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INTENTION OF ESTABLISHING A SEPARATE GROUP BETWEEN THE US AND SOVIET FORCES AND THOSE OF THE REMAINING DIRECT PARTICIPANTS. OR WAS IT INTENDED MERELY AS AN EXAMPLE OF THE APPROXIMATE PROPORTIONATE ALLOCATION WHICH MIGHT BE MADE TO THOSE TWO COUNTRIES FROM THE BALANCE OF THE 10,000 LEFT AFTER THE US AND SOVIET REDUCTIONS. STRULAK SAID THE LATTER WAS THE CASE; THE PRECISE FIGURE WAS NOT FIXED BUT, SINCE POLAND WOULD LIKE TO REDUCE BY AN AMOUNT WHICH WOULD

AFFORD SOME GENUINE FINANCIAL SAVINGS AND RECKONED 5,000 WAS A REASONABLE FIGURE FOR THIS PURPOSE, HE WOULD NOT WANT THE GERMANS TO REDUCE BY A LESSER FIGURE.

4. I REPEATED THAT A BASIC OBJECTION TO THE FIRST STEP PROPOSAL WAS THAT IT INCLUDED NO COMMITMENT TO AN EQUITABLE OUTCOME, IN THE FORM OF A COMMON CEILING, FOR THE SUBSTANTIVE REDUCTIONS. BEING BASED ON EQUAL NUMERICAL REDUCTIONS, IT WOULD ACCENTUATE THE PRESENT DISPARITIES EVEN MORE THAN EQUAL PERCENTAGE REDUCTIONS. STRULAK SAID THAT, IF WE WERE TO REACH AGREEMENT, HE THOUGHT WE WOULD HAVE TO GET AWAY FROM THE CONCEPTUAL APPROACH TO REDUCTIONS BASED ON EITHER THE COMMON CEILING OR EQUAL PERCENTAGES. IT WOULD BE BETTER TO TRY TO EXPRESS REDUCTIONS ON EACH SIDE IN NUMERICAL TERMS ON A PRAGMATIC BASIS. I ASKED WHETHER THIS MEANT THAT THE NUMBERS MIGHT BE ASYMMETRICAL, SO THAT THE EAST, WITH A HIGHER STARTING POINT, WOULD MAKE GREATER REDUCTIONS. STRULAK SAID THIS WAS SOMETHING WHICH WOULD HAVE TO BE DISCUSSED, BUT THE IMPORTANT THING WOULD BE TO GET AWAY FROM THE TWO OPPOSING CONCEPTS WHICH COULD NOT BE RECONCILED.

5. I ALSO TOOK UP STRULAK'S MISCONCEPTION ABOUT THE MEANING OF THE FIVE YEAR PERIOD FOR THE REVIEW/NO-INCREASE OFFERS. I EXPLAINED WHAT THIS PERIOD INVOLVED AND HOW IT WAS RELATED TO THE "FIXED PERIOD OF TIME." HE LISTENED CAREFULLY AND I HOPE UNDERSTOOD THE POSITION. END TEXTRESOR

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